



Directorate of
Intelligence

MASTER FILE COPY

**DO NOT GIVE OUT
OR MARK ON**



25X1

118

Africa Review



25X1

13 July 1984

~~Secret~~

ALA AR 84-011
13 July 1984

Copy

351

Page Denied

25X1

Africa Review

25X1

13 July 1984

		<i>Page</i>	
Articles	South Africa: Prime Minister's European Trip	1	25X1
			25X1
	Prime Minister Botha's recent trip to nine West European countries resulted in Western acknowledgment of South Africa's role as a regional power in southern Africa, Pretoria's stated objective for the visit.		25X1
	South Africa: Rightwing Party Demonstrates Strength	3	25X1
			25X1
	By showing considerable strength in two provincial byelections in late June, the Conservative Party demonstrated that opposition to the government's constitutional reforms is widespread.		25X1
	Swaziland: Power Struggle Continues	5	25X1
			25X1
	Prince Mfanasibili, leader of one of two groups fighting for undisputed control of the government, recently improved his faction's chances by firing four key government officials of the competing group, but the Prince's lack of popular support is a major weakness.		25X1
Briefs	Somalia-Djibouti: Strains in Relations	9	25X1
	South Africa: Financing of Grain Imports	9	25X1

Articles have been coordinated as appropriate with other offices within CIA. Comments and queries regarding this publication may be directed to the Chief, Production Staff, Office of African and Latin American Analysis,

25X1
25X1

Articles

South Africa: Prime Minister's European Trip

25X1

Prime Minister P. W. Botha's recent trip to eight West European countries resulted in Western acknowledgment of South Africa's role as a regional power in southern Africa, Pretoria's stated objective for the visit. Botha's trip, during which he was received by seven heads of state and the Pope, was the most ambitious trip to Europe by a South African head of government in more than two decades. Not since Jan Smuts, Prime Minister from 1939 to 1948 and a close military adviser to Winston Churchill, has a South African statesman received such attention.

While acknowledging South Africa's regional importance, European leaders both in private and in public condemned apartheid, the forced resettlement of South African blacks, and the imprisonment of African nationalist leaders. Botha was also greeted by antiapartheid demonstrations in London, Bonn, and Brussels. Although Botha appeared unflustered by European disapproval, according to several US embassies, a senior South African businessman told the US Embassy in Pretoria that European condemnation of South Africa's racial policies impressed Botha and that he might take steps to end forced resettlement of blacks.

The trip played well in South Africa and served to strengthen Botha's position in Afrikaner circles and to broaden his base of support among English-speaking South Africans, according to Embassy reporting. A recent opinion poll conducted by a Johannesburg newspaper shows that over 90 percent of the white population approve of Botha's foreign policy achievements. The poll shows that Botha has the support of more than four-fifths of both the Afrikaner and English population. Another poll shows that the vast majority of Afrikaner and English voters believe that Botha's foreign policy benefits South Africa and

that it is conducted from a position of strength, not weakness.

25X1

In Europe, Botha sought opportunities to enhance his support among Afrikaans- and English-speaking voters by visiting sites of highly symbolic value to both groups:

- In Switzerland, Botha visited the home of Paul Kruger, an Afrikaner who defied the might of the British Empire as the leader of the independent Transvaal at the time of the Boer War. The Afrikaner press stressed that Botha had taken on the mantle of previous Afrikaner nationalist heroes—like Kruger—who had fought for the survival of his *volk* (people).
- In France, Botha visited Dellville Woods, where he laid a cornerstone for a memorial to South African soldiers who died in the Battle of the Somme in 1916. Dellville Woods is especially important to English-speaking South Africans, marking the first time a South African force fought under the banner of the British Empire.

25X1

25X1

25X1

Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha arranged the trip, and we believe his participation will enhance his political status in South Africa. Both the English and Afrikaans press report that Pik's career is in ascendancy, and he could become a prime contender for the South African leadership should Prime Minister Botha, who is 68, retire in the next few years as local observers expect. US Embassy reporting notes

P. W. Botha's European Trip

<i>Portugal 29-30 May</i>	<i>Most successful stop on tour . . . received by Prime Minister Soares . . . communiqué showed basic agreement on all substantial issues . . . Soares accepted invitation to visit South Africa this fall.</i>
<i>Switzerland 31 May-1 June</i>	<i>Brief meeting with Swiss head of state . . . important meeting with Swiss investors . . . visit to home of Paul Kruger, legendary Afrikaner nationalist.</i>
<i>United Kingdom 1-2 June</i>	<i>Despite a major antiapartheid demonstration, Botha met with Prime Minister Thatcher at Chequers . . . meeting with Thatcher and others involved frank exchanges on issue of resettlement of blacks, but was otherwise friendly.</i>
<i>West Germany 2-6 June</i>	<i>Visits to both Bonn and Berlin . . . heavy schedule of meetings with ruling and opposition party, as well as businessmen.</i>
<i>Belgium 6-7 June</i>	<i>Meetings with the Belgian Prime Minister and Foreign Minister . . . demonstrations, which forced Botha to enter airport through cargo entrance, were not reported in South Africa.</i>
<i>France 7 June</i>	<i>French Government refused to receive Botha . . . visit limited to laying cornerstone for memorial to South African dead at Dellville.</i>
<i>Austria 7-9 June</i>	<i>Sessions with both the Chancellor and Vice Chancellor . . . though both attacked Pretoria's domestic policies, the Vice Chancellor (who is also the Minister of Foreign Trade) will visit South Africa in the fall.</i>
<i>Italy 10-13 June</i>	<i>Botha had meetings with the Prime Minister and attended seminar for Italian businessmen . . . audience at Vatican with Pope John Paul II.</i>

25X1

that the Foreign Minister has had a more important
role in the National Party apparatus since being
named deputy leader of the Transvaal caucus of the
National Party earlier this year.

25X1

South Africa: Rightwing Party Demonstrates Strength []

25X1

The Conservative Party showed considerable strength in two provincial byelections in late June, and, in the view of the US Embassy, the party demonstrated that opposition to the government's constitutional reforms is widespread:

- Potgietersrus, a rural Afrikaner district in the northern Transvaal, gave the Conservative Party candidate an unexpectedly wide victory margin.
- Rosettenville, a suburban district near Johannesburg, was carried by the ruling National Party, although by a smaller margin than was expected, according to press reports. The ability of the Conservatives, primarily an Afrikaner party, to attract more than 2,000 votes in this primarily English-speaking district surprised South African political observers. []

A progovernment newspaper notes that the National Party is concerned about the Conservatives' showing in Rosettenville. The party's support in this Johannesburg suburb indicates to sources of the US Embassy that the right may be galvanizing opposition to constitutional reform and has broadened its base of support throughout South Africa. In the next few months, the National Party will try to shore up its position in the Transvaal, while solidifying its base of support among South Africa's English-speaking minority. []

25X1

25X1

Andries Treurnicht, chairman of the party, jubilantly claimed in parliament that the Conservatives could expand their parliamentary representation from the Transvaal from 16 to 40 in a general election. Sources of the US Embassy believe Treurnicht is correct in his claims that the party has strong support in the rural districts of the Transvaal. []

25X1

The Potgietersrus byelection marked the first show of unity by the Afrikaner right wing. In previous byelections in the northern Transvaal, the ultraconservative Herstigte Nasionale Party has split the rightwing vote, allowing the National Party to win a plurality. Should the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale Parties continue to cooperate in future contests, the National Party, in our judgment, would have difficulty in many rural districts. []

25X1

Swaziland: Power Struggle Continues

25X1

Four key government officials were sacked last month in the power struggle that has dominated the Swazi political scene since the death of King Sobhuza II in 1982. Prince Mfanasibili Dlamini, the leader of one of two competing groups, instigated the dismissals to improve the position of his faction. By winning this round, Mfanasibili has greatly improved his chances of neutralizing the opposing faction, led by Princess Mnengwase Dlamini, and of gaining undisputed control of the government. His lack of popular support, however, remains a major weakness.

Filling the Royal Void

Government infighting has become commonplace in the last two years in Swaziland as political figures have vied to fill the vacuum left by Sobhuza, who ruled for 61 years. Makhosetive, a young son of Sobhuza, will assume the throne in 1989 when he becomes 21. Until then, Queen Regent Ntombi, one of Sobhuza's many wives, is the nominal ruler. She has been overshadowed, however, by the 16-member Supreme Council of State or Liqoqo. The Queen Regent's role generally has diminished to rubberstamping decisions made by the Liqoqo, which under the direction of Mfanasibili has frequently usurped its constitutional and traditional authority, according to US Embassy reports.

Mfanasibili and three of his associates have gained control of the Liqoqo and are using it as a vehicle to eliminate opponents and install their supporters in the government and security forces:

- Mfanasibili spearheaded the removals of Prime Minister Mabandla Dlamini in March 1983 and Queen Regent Dzeliwe Shongwe in August 1983.¹ The new Prime Minister (Prince Bhekimp Dlamini)



Prince Mfanasibili

Times of Swaziland

25X1

25X1

and Queen Regent (Ntombi Thwala) are not wholehearted supporters of Mfanasibili but are more pliant and less threatening than their predecessors, according to the US Embassy.

- In January, Mfanasibili arranged the dismissals of four police officials who supported one of Mfanasibili's key opponents, then Police Commissioner Titus Msibi. Paulos Simelane—termed an underling of Mfanasibili by the US Embassy—became the new chief of the Police Intelligence Branch.

25X1

- This spring, Mfanasibili replaced the head of the Swazi Nation Fund²—then Finance Minister Simon Nxumalo—with one of his own supporters, Polycarp Dlamini.

25X1

² A discretionary fund established by Sobhuza from revenue accrued through government-owned economic ventures.

25X1

25X1

The Players

Mfanasibili Faction

Prince Mfanasibili Dlamini. *Leading Liqoqo member and chairman of Civil Service Board ...*
... controls large portion of Civil Service and local media.

Dr. George Msibi. *Liqoqo member ... board chairman of financially troubled Swaziland Chemical Industries, country's largest chemical plant*

Chief Mfanawenkhusi Maseko. *Liqoqo member ... former chairman of the Swazi Electoral Committee ...*

Paulos Simelane. *New Police Commissioner ...*

Robert Mabila. *Liqoqo secretary ... Ombudsman*

David Matse. *Minister of Justice ... publishes government gazette announcing new laws and official personnel changes.*

Polycarp Dlamini. *Managing director of the Swazi Nation Fund ... former Minister of Justice.*

Mnengwase Faction

Princess Mnengwase Dlamini. *Liqoqo member ...*

Simon Nxumalo. *Recently dismissed Finance Minister ... former head of the Swazi Nation Fund ... helped Mfanasibili oust previous Prime Minister ... cemented his relationship with Mnengwase by providing her with consultant fees from the Nation Fund, according to the US Embassy.*

Lt. Col. Mangomeni Ndzimandze. *Recently deposed Army Chief of Staff ...*

Titus Msibi. *Recently dismissed Police Commissioner ...*

Richard Dlamini. *Recently deposed Foreign Minister ... helped Mfanasibili oust former Prime Minister.*

Prince Sozisa Dlamini. *Authorized Person and Liqoqo member ... has had his powers greatly reduced by Mfanasibili.*

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Princess Mnengwase's group counterattacked in March. The US Embassy reports that the group pressed Authorized Person³ Prince Sozisa Dlamini to sign an order dismissing Mfanasibili and two of his supporters from the Liqoqo. However, the Minister of Justice, who controls the government gazette and supports Mfanasibili, blocked the publication of the

³ The Authorized Person—roughly analogous to a vice president—chairs Liqoqo meetings and serves as the principal adviser of the Queen Regent.

order, thereby rendering it inoperative. In addition, Mfanasibili persuaded the Queen Regent to rescind the Authorized Person's powers to sign documents in her name, according to the US Embassy.

Princess Mnengwase's group next attempted to replace Queen Regent Ntombi.

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret

[redacted]
[redacted]
Mnengwase's group again attempted to oust Mfanasibili early last month. At a press conference on 4 June, a government spokesman, flanked by then Police Commissioner Msibi and Army Chief of Staff Ndzimandze, told journalists that Mfanasibili and his chief aide, Dr. George Msibi, had been dismissed from the Liqoqo. However, when the journalists went to the Queen Regent's residence to verify the story, they were informed by Liqoqo and royal family members that the dismissals were not official because the Queen Regent had not authorized them. [redacted]
[redacted]

Mfanasibili responded four days later by persuading the Queen Regent to sack four of his opponents: Police Commissioner Msibi, Ndzimandze, Foreign Minister Richard Dlamini, and Finance Minister Simon Nxumalo. Government spokesmen later accused the four of "inciting revolution" and of illicit financial dealings. During the week before the dismissals, however, Nxumalo had alleged publicly that leading Swazi officials took part in a fraud involving \$10 million in receipts from the Southern African Customs Union.⁴ According to the US Embassy, it was an open secret that Nxumalo believed Mfanasibili and Msibi had engineered the fraud. Robert Mabila, an inner core member of the Mfanasibili faction, according to the US Embassy, is heading a government commission investigating the fraud and subsequent charges that Mfanasibili and other Liqoqo members were receiving double salaries. [redacted]

⁴ Members in the Union—South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland—share revenues derived from tariffs applied to all goods that enter their countries. [redacted]

Outlook

The recent dismissals represent a severe setback to the Mnengwase faction, but Mfanasibili still has problems. Unpopular among large segments of the Swazi public and the royal family, he has developed a reputation as a greedy, dishonest, power-hungry politician, according to the US Embassy. The Embassy also reports that several Swazi officials believe Mfanasibili and some of his chief collaborators are guilty of numerous illegal activities that could eventually lead to their downfall. Mfanasibili's cronies occupy many key positions, but he has many influential enemies in the royal family and the government, and we believe the recently deposed officials are unlikely to fade immediately into obscurity. [redacted]

Sobhuza was a strong central figure who was loved and respected by virtually all Swazis. He was the essential cog that kept the Swazi government machinery—composed of diverse traditional and modern parts—running smoothly. Mfanasibili is emerging as another strong figure, but his methods have created friction among various government components. Although he now enjoys the high ground in his struggle with the Mnengwase faction, his political future is uncertain. [redacted]
[redacted]

25X1
25X125X1
25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

25X1

Africa Briefs

Somalia-Djibouti

Strains in Relations

25X1

A recent decision by Somalia to reorganize its northern regions has undermined Western efforts to encourage improved relations between Somalia and Djibouti.

President Siad created a new region around Borama, effectively increasing the political power of the loyal Gadabursi tribe at the expense of the Issa, another tribe inhabiting the same area. In response, Djibouti's President Gouled, an Issa, refused permission for a Somali delegation to attend Djibouti's national day celebrations—a step that reportedly has infuriated Siad. Relations between the two nations—never cordial since Djibouti gained its independence from France in 1977—have been strained since January when Somali-backed anti-Ethiopian dissidents attacked Djibouti's vital rail link with Addis Ababa.

25X1

25X1

South Africa

Financing of Grain Imports

25X1

Pretoria has decided to finance approximately \$800 million of grain imports over the next year—required because of three successive years of devastating drought—out of its own foreign exchange reserves rather than resort to commercial bank underwriting of international borrowing,

25X1

In addition, at least a portion of the grain to be imported through mid-1985 probably will be financed by a gold swap transaction. The financial moves reportedly are intended to maintain South Africa's international credit rating because the government plans substantial official borrowing later this year for balance-of-payments support. The drought has reduced corn production from an annual average of some 10 million tons to about 4.4 million tons this year; average annual consumption has been about 7.2 million tons. According to US Embassy Pretoria plans to continue making the bulk of its corn purchases from the United States, but is buying wheat elsewhere.

25X1

25X1

25X1

Secret